731 that was uppermost in the people's minds—to return to an environment of their choosing. In many cases families had been separated. Many close relatives had been killed, and in some cases it was not known whether such relatives were alive in other camps or not. Although short visits to old villages and gardens were sometimes permitted, the devastation that was seen there was always worrying, and time was not long enough for anything to be done about it. The future was uncertain; and there was always the underlying question, often expressed, "Will the volcano blow up again?" Although the people showed no signs of nervousness in the danger area, they are still not confident that our assurances of their safety outside the perimeter are correct—we have made mistakes before.

[158] It is perhaps surprising that, given this worry and tension, and an apparently highly-strung people, there were not more cases of mental derangement. Those cases I enquired about proved to be either long-standing affairs or temporary disturbances which seemed to pass. On the other hand, there was much excitement in the camps, and quarrelling and violence. Every move of the administrative staff was watched with interest, crowds would gather to hear the latest news. The presence of large squads of native police in the camps led to friction, sometimes over women, sometimes through a general resentment at being ordered about. [684] Court cases, and administrative cases settled out of court, were mainly charges of violence against wives. Some of these were led up to by sexual misbehaviour, but in many cases it seemed that there was nothing more than irritability over some [861] domestic misdoing, such as being late in carrying water. Children were frequently cuffed and beaten, and I often saw little wrongdoers being hurried away by older brothers or sisters to prevent a visitation of parental wrath.

731 This general irritability was carried back into the villages, where worry was not 657 very much less than in the camps, and even the degree of daily control by European authority was maintained as far as possible. For here administrative officers tended to enter into the minutiæ of daily life, marking the spots where the houses had to go, decreeing the layout of the village, often when the people thought they would be [578] better employed elsewhere. An example of village violence occurred in the new Popota while I was there. At this time women with small children were expected to remain at Ilimo camp until husbands had built them adequate shelters. Many of the women resented this, and some slipped into the bush and back to their husbands. In this particular case the baby lost a little weight when it returned to the village. The husband told the woman that she should have stayed near the clinic in camp. The women, resentful at this lack of appreciation of her presence, lost her temper and rushed at her husband with a knife. The husband swung at her head with an axe, and mother and baby ended up in a Mission dispensary which had been set up some distance away. To my mind this incident sums up many of the relevant points—the impression made by the new services, the urgent desire even of the women to be getting on with the job, and the domestic tensions and irritability that resulted from the situation.

CHAPTER X: Esprit de Corps

621 The problem of developing group consciousness in a new village,
731 created by aggregating the population from several villages in one place, is a very considerable one under Orokaiva conditions. Each village group tends to be a tight unit and it is a long time before a feeling of unity will develop between the groups thus thrown together. In a place such as Hohorita, which consists of the remnants of about 12 villages, the creation of an esprit de corps (in Linton's sense, 1936: 92-94) is a lengthy and hazardous business.

I was able to observe the same situation in Sivepa in 1966, though on a much smaller scale. Sivepa, as I mentioned before, consisted of a core of people who lived in Pamba before the eruption and two groups who arrived since, one from Binduta in 1956 and one from Garombi in 1966. The extent to which these groups have been "integrated" into the village will appear at once if one looks at the spatial
[361] arrangement of the village. As I pointed out, the ideal plan of this village was an arrangement of two parallel facing rows. Now all the long-established families, with one exception, followed this plan, but none of the new arrivals did. The Garombi arrivals built on a piece of land just above the village, on land owned by a Sorovi man who stayed behind in Garombi. The Binduta arrivals built next to the Garombi ones, on attractive sites overlooking the rest of the village. None of them followed the house plan decided upon by the rest. Thus they gave all the appearance of a group apart, and the symbolic significance of such behaviour would never be lost upon the Orokaiva. When asked about this arrangement, people would describe it to me as temporary.

621 In the daily presentations of food between residences, these
[431] families would most often send food to one another, rather than to other families in the village, but this was natural, as their own mutual ties were closest. At the same time, I recorded a reasonable number of gifts travelling from the top of the hill down to the village and conversely; there was certainly no rigid separation there. A number of kinship and friendship ties existed between the new arrivals and the older families; these ties were fostered by regular exchange
[578] presentations of one sort or another. I have referred to one conflict between a Garombi arrival and a woman from the centre of the village. This was an isolated case, as there was no sign of conflict between the groups, nor did this flare-up lead to continued bad relations. One could say that an esprit de corps was gradually forming, and that the merger looked satisfactory.

621 On the other hand, the hazards were obvious when one looked
● 684 at the settlers from Binduta. When conflict developed, as in the attempted rape case, the man from Binduta was in a weak position.

621 Naturally he was angry that his wife had been molested; his younger
684 brother who was rather fiery and quick to fight, was angrier still.
They both found themselves isolated as the kinsmen of the assaulter
took the opportunity of expressing their heart-felt views about the
two brothers, especially the pugnacious one who had successfully raped
a young Seho woman earlier that year. Both brothers said they would
go back to Binduta and the younger man actually did so. This shows that
their position in Sivepe was still somewhat unstable.

659 One of the objectives Sivepe had during the year 1966-7 was
621 to win a prize for the most improved village. This prize was awarded
361 by a committee of councillors and paid out of government funds. The
eagerness to align all the houses in two rows was partly due to this
desire to win the prize, though this was not the only motive. In
these circumstances, it was certainly evidence of esprit de corps to
fit in with the village plan and the objective of winning the prize;
it was also evidence of a lack of esprit de corps to ignore the village
plan altogether and build houses of inferior design in places where
they were extremely conspicuous. Yet this is what the immigrants from
Garoubi and Binduta did. Lawrence, and the others who were keen about
village improvement, accepted this situation with much tolerance,
though Lawrence did go up to the Garoubi houses one morning to talk it
over. No doubt he received assurances that something would be done;
the discussion was amicable enough. Yet this instance shows that the
amalgamating of villages poses organisational problems which place a
burden upon everybody: upon the old residents who must be tactful
and upon the new arrivals who will long continue to feel insecure.